

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W  
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O 251558Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2190

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

IRUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2111

USMISSION USUN NY

S D C R EIT LUSAKA 1865

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR RH ZA

SUBJECT: GRZ SUGGESTION FOR US APPROACH TO SAG AND SMITH ON  
RHODESIA

REF: STATE 227224; LUSAKA 1811 AND 1841

1. BELIEVE RECOMMENDATION CONTAINED PARA 10 OF LUSAKA'S 1811 INDICATES MY SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE FOR USG APPROACH TO SAG TO USE ITS INFLUENCE ON SMITH BUT LEAVES UNANSWERED IMPORTANT QUESTIONS ON TIMING AND SUBSTANCE. WHILE IT CORRECT TO ASSUME AS WE HAVE IN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS THAT PERIOD OF LONG, HARD NEGOTIATIONS LIES AHEAD IN RHODESIA, THIS HOLDS TRUE IF PRINCIPALS RESUME TALKS SOON RATHER THAN RESORT TO FIGHTING. TIME FOR NEGOTIATIONS MAY BE RUNNING OUT. BISHOP MUZOREWA SAID OCT 31 WAS CUT-OFF DATE. SMITH PRIOR TO VICTORIA FALLS SAID HE EXPECTED CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN TWO MONTHS, MEAIN BY OCT 31. (ACTUAL TIMING OF ANC DECISION TO REVERT TO ARMED STRUGGLE WOULD OF COURSE DEPEND UPON READINESS ITS GUERRILLA FORCES FOR WAR AND COULD BE SOMEWHAT LATER.)

2. UNDERSTOOD THAT BOTH SAG PM VORSTER AND ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAVE TAKEN WATCHFUL WAITING STANCE THIS  
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WEEK IN ANTICIPATION OF OUTCOME OF ANC CONGRESS

SCHEDULED FOR SEPT 27-28 IN RHODESIA. GIVEN THEIR HOLDING POSITION, THERE LITTLE TO BE GAINED BY USG APPROACH TO VORSTER OR SMITH IN SHORT TIME REMAINING BEFORE THIS CONGRESS. RECOMMEND OUR APPROACH COME SOON AFTER CONGRESS WHEN IMPLICATIONS OF RESULTS CLEARER.

3. BELIEVE SUBSTANCE OF MESSAGE WE WOULD LIKE SAG TO DELIVER TO SMITH SHOULD MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS: (A) NEED TO AVOID UNNECESSARY BLOODSHED AND BRING PARTIES TOGETHER, AS SECY KISSINGER IMPLIED IN HIS SEPT 23 TOAST TO OAU REPS, IN SPEAKING IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS OF ILLEGAL WHITE SUPREMIST REGIME MAINTAINED BY FORCE; (B) AVOID AS WELL PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS SUCH AS RECRUITING FOREIGN MERCENARIES, BROADENING CONSCRIPTION, GENERAL MOBILIZATION OF CITIZENRY, AND STEPPING UP INFILTRATION OF ESPIONAGE AGENTS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES; (C) TELL SMITH IF OUTCOME OF ANC CONGRESS THIS WEEKEND BRINGS INEVITABLE NKOMO VICTORY HE WOULD BE GREATLY MISGUIDED WERE HE TO USE THIS FOR DEALING EXCLUSIVELY WITH NKOMO TO BRING A FEW BLACK FACES INTO SLIGHTLY RECONSTITUTED RHODESIAN GOVT. ACTION WOULD BE MERE SHAM; LEAVE NKOMO FACTION VULNERABLE TO CHARGES BY OTHER AFRICANS OF SELL-OUT. SMITH WOULD NOT BE BUYING TIME BUT WOULD BE GIVING CAUSE FOR MILITANTS OUTSIDE RHODESIA TO ACCELERATE PREPARATIONS FOR ARMED STRUGGLE; (D) SMITH NEEDS TO OFFER SOME COMPROMISE ON IMMUNITY ISSUE SO THAT ALL RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS CAN HAVE A VOICE IN CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT. ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE MILITANTS LIKE SITHOLE MERELY ENHANCES THEIR IMPORTANCE AND LEAVES THEM FREE TO ATTACK ANY AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO ANC MODERATES.

4. I BELIEVE NEXT MONTH MAY BE CRITICAL NOT ONLY FOR SMITH AND WHAT HE INTENDS TO DO TO AVOID BLOODSHED IN FAVOR OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, BUT FOR PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S CHANCES OF PLAYING A MEDIATING ROLE/ FOLLOWING REASONS WOULD SEEM TO SUPPORT THIS VIEW: (A) LUSAKA SEPT 13 SUMMIT DECIDED ON MOVING ANC MILITARY FORCES OUT OF ZAMBIA AND RE-GROUPING THEM UNDER FRELIMO TUTELAGE AND TRAINING WITH CHINESE HELP IN ABANDONED CAMPS MAINLY IN MOZAMBIQUE; (B) CHAIRMANSHIP OF FOUR NEIGHBORING AFRICAN COUNTRIES DEALING WITH RHODESIA UNDER OAU MANDATE MOVED FROM KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA TO NYERERE OF

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TANZANIA. HE, WITH PRESIDENT MACHEL, HAS ALWAYS FAVORED EX-ZANU AND MORE MILITANT NATIONALISTS (MACHEL WON HIS INDEPENDENCE BY ARMED STRUGGLE AND APPEARS TO BE AN UN-COMPROMISING ADVOCATE FOR SAME ROUTE IN RHODESIA); (C) IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT FOR FIRST TIME AROUND 3,000 ANC TROOPS WILL BE BROUGHT TOGETHER IN A COMBINED MILITARY FORCE. A NEW AND AS YET UNKNOWN SUPREME ANC MILITARY COMMANDER OR JUNTA WILL COME MORE PROMINENTLY ON THE STAGE.

THIS LEADER OR JUNTA WILL UNDOUBTEDLY ASSUME POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY STATURE AND COULD REPLACE FAMILIAR FIGURES OF NKOMO, SITHOLE, MUZOREWA AND CHIKEREMA. SMITH SHOULD APPRECIATE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS; (D) DURING NEXT MONTH KAUNDA WILL CERTAINLY HAVE TO TURN INCREASINGLY FROM INTERNATIONAL TO DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AS ZAMBIA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION BECOMES MORE DESPERATE, BECAUSE OF LOW COPPER PRICES AND LACK OF TRANSPORT. TWO LARGE MINES MAY HAVE TO SHUT DOWN, THROWING THOUSANDS OF MINERS OUT OF WORK; FURTHER, FOREIGN CREDITS WILL BECOME VITAL AS ZAMBIA'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE SITUATION IS RUNNING AT AN ANNUAL AVERAGE LOSS OF AROUND ONE HALF BILLION DOLLARS.

5. TO CONCLUDE, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD SIT TIGHT UNTIL AFTER ANC CONGRESS THIS WEEKEND AND THEN SEEK SOUTH AFRICAN ASSESSMENT, AND URGE INDICATED ACTION WITH SMITH. IN MEANTIME, I THINK WE CAN GIVE ZAMBIANS A CONSIDERABLE MEASURE OF SATISFACTION AND ENCOURAGEMENT BY DRAWING HEAVILY AND CIRCULATING WIDELY SECY'S STATEMENT OF SEPT 23 AND 24 IN NEW YORK.  
WILKOWSKI

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